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と地域的適応に関する動態論的研究

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A Local Developmental Pattern of Christian Denominations

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I. Introduction

1. Church and State in Kenya

The problem of church and state has to do with institutions and the spheres of action that are proper for each, and this has been a peculiar tradition of the modern Western Christianity. Here the concept of separation is considered to be most important. The state, or the government, does not appoint bishops and pastors for the churches, and the churches do not appoint presidents, governors, and judges. No religion can be favored over others or supported by taxes. The state has no role or authority in defining beliefs relating to God and worship.

This practice was clearly seen in colonial Kenya (and in colonial Africa at large) in the late 19th century and the early 20th century in the fact that the mission churches came to Kenya not only from Britain which ruled Kenya politically, but also from United States or France or any other European countries. The Mission churches scrambled Africa again according to their own logic, so to speak, after the European powers scrambled it.

The history of the church-state relations in Western Europe shows a lot of conflicts between them. As to the church-state relations in Kenya it is said that there has been little conflicts, as one mainstream churchman described. "Here in Kenya we stand a very good position as far as church-state relationships and co-operation are concerned. This co-operation is in accordance with the African traditional motto, 'harambee' (Let us pull together). It is in fields such as education, medicine and social work in its various forms, and other related fields, that church and state in Kenya are noticeably co-operative. This working together did not only began after Kenya gained its independence, but was also present during the colonial era". ⁽¹⁾

Unlike West European countries where the church and the state have different origins, these two institutions in Kenya originated from one and the same source, that is, the colonial system. This perhaps explains the good relationships between them in Kenya. Moreover, unlike some of the African countries, there has been no violent disruption of government caused by military coups or ethnic wars in Kenya so far. The mainstream churches, Protestant

or Catholic, have collectively cooperated with the government in taking care of the people in general. The separation of the church-state in Kenya may not be so essential as it assumes.

Therefore in Kenya, serious troubles which involved Christian churches were not ones between the established church and the state, but mostly ones between newly created churches or independent churches on the one hand and mainstream or established churches aided by the government on the other.

2. Mainstream Church vs. Independent Church — The Situations in Isukha

Western Kenya, especially the Baluyia and the Luo areas, has long been known as one of the most prosperous places of 'African Independent Churches' in the continent. Dense population, early Western missionary endeavours and certain attitudes of the people towards modernization in general might be ascribed to causes of this Christian independency. Christian independency, as political independency, was after all a sign of autonomy and departure from the Western influence, which were especially needed in the late colonial era. The independent churches, on the other hand, caused troubles and pressing competition for the mainstream (mission) churches. As the independent churches usually represented (and still represent) certain grass roots discontents they were at least implicitly against the dominant theological principles and westernized attitudes towards modernization of the mainstream churches.

Or, this might be seen as a more general problem of religion and society in rural areas. As I see it in rural Isukha, the contemporary moral and social ideology is expressed through Christianity, and different churches or denominations represent the different social and ideological aspects among the villagers towards the conditions created by the colonialism and the modernity.

In the following sections I will try to explain the present local situations of various Christian denominations in Isukha area of Kakamega District, with a few historical descriptions, and in relation to the large framework of the Kenyan state and society. There is no good statistics but people agree that in Isukha the largest membership is that of Catholic Church, and it includes more than half of the population. Then comes that of the Friends Church (Quakers), and both churches comprise nine out of ten members of the whole Isukha Christians. These two churches are what I call the mainstream churches. The missions of these two churches started to Christianize the Isukha people from the beginning of 20th century, and they have completed this process by now.

The rest of Christians belong to some twenty denominations which I like to call non-mainstream churches. They are old or new independent churches separated from mission churches, relatively new Pentecostal mission churches from the West, or very new charismatic churches which has come to evangelize here from somewhere else. The non-mainstream churches as a whole have some similarities despite their different origins. Their way of

worship is much Africanized compared with Westernized worship in the mainstream churches. They use African drums when they sing, and they tend to attach importance to the Holy Spirit, for instance. Another similarity is that, though they are small in number, their visual presence is very high in the eyes of outside observers. This is because their religious activities are vigorous and their worship is very long and even boisterous. Most important thing at present is that they are as a whole a growing religious power eroding strength of the mainstream churches.

In short, Friends and Catholics represent not only an established religious order but also a social establishment in Isukha, while the members of the non-mainline churches are more or less outside that establishment.

II. Churches against the State

1. Dini ya Musambwa

Although this church or movement did not correctly belong to the area of Isukha, it is an obvious example of the upheaval which led to the intervention of the colonial government in the mid-1940s of Bukusu, northern Luyia area. The Dini ya Musambwa (the Religion of Ancestors, shortened as DYM) was a kind of revivalism of traditional religious practices, but it was heavily influenced by the church organization and the ideas of Christianity. The DYM once caused a serious social confusion which had not only religious but also political nature. There were real clashes between the church (the DYM) and the state (the colonial government). The movement of the DYM has been widely studied and discussed by historians from this perspective. ⁽²⁾

The DYM's main leader was Elija Masinde, who was expelled from the Friends church in 1935 because of his polygamy. The DYM used the Bible and the cross, while practicing animal sacrifice to the God referred as Were, the name of the traditional deity. As a movement it was harmless at first, but from 1944 it became openly anti-European and anti-government. Many violent incidents took place. The local agricultural department was a target of its attack and Masinde opposed the veterinary injection of cattle. He insisted all Europeans as well as Indian traders must return home. A Roman Catholic mission was invaded by a large number of people claiming that the missionaries should leave the country. They sacrificed animals for ancestors at the mission compound. In 1948 Masinde was arrested, and the DYM was suppressed and consequently banned. The leader together with some chief followers being in jail, the DYM lost its vigour soon. The Dini ya Musambwa as a church ceased to exist.

2. African Prophetic Church

However, its influence remained among the northern and central Luyia fairly long, even after Kenya's independence. In Isukha its enduring influence can be seen in the presence of an independent church called African Prophetic Church. Though this church is small in membership even among non-mainstream churches, it is active and its influence seems to be growing among common villagers. It is also peculiar in that its religious ideas and practices show strong reliance on the Old Testament.

The present leader of this Church is Paul Muhati, who claims the direct leadership from Masinde as the third leader. In fact he has separated his own Church here from the original Church in Kabras. The following explanation is what I heard from its priests and the church members about their church. They have three prophets in succession; namely, Moses, Jesus, and Elija Masinde (the leader of the DYM). Moses is like Father, and Jesus is like Son, and so is Elija like the Holy Spirit. From this account I understand that they regard most highly of Moses, and that they clearly acknowledge a direct religious pedigree from the DYM, while they don't acknowledge the orthodox trinity status of Jesus. These are very exceptional features even among the non-mainstream churches. On the other hand, the African Prophetic Church does not follow the road of the anti-European or anti-government political movement which was a salient trait of the DYM's actual practice. Instead, people of the African Prophetic Church seem to be really interested in making their religion nearer to their ancestor's way. They call their ancestors "Vakuka" (also means grandparents) and their God "Nyasaye wa Vakuka" (Ancestors' God). Their God looks like Moses' God since their most important rite called "Sayoni" (actually this is a sacred place supposed to be on the Mt. Elgon) is a sacrifice of animals to it.

3. African Church of Holy Spirit

As an independent church in Luyialand the DYM was rather exceptional in its anti-European and anti-government character and its dependence on the traditional religious ideas. A different type of Christian independency started to spread widely in Central and Southern Luyialand from 1927, when the Holy Spirit revival took place in the Friends Church and this resulted in creating several new churches. These churches are commonly designated "Roho Churches" or Spirit Churches.

The most successful church among them is called the African Church of Holy Spirit (shortened as the Holy Spirit Church in the following pages), whose Headquarter is in Isukha.⁽³⁾ It is in fact a Pentecostal type of church, but interestingly, the Holy Spirit revival in 1927 itself was sparked and guided by a particular white missionary (A. Chilson) of the Friends Church. Unlike the DYM, the religious views of the Holy Spirit Church (or followers of the Revival) had no anti-White elements, though they indigenize or Africanize ways of their worship.

Still there were violent troubles and serious discords between the Friends majority and the followers of the Revival. The latter were finally expelled from the Church on charges of disturbing the church meetings by their noisy tongues, violent faints and uncontrolled singing and so on, which were claimed for them to be a direction of the Holy Spirit. On occasions of the actual eviction the administrative chiefs and policemen were called in and some members were really arrested. The Holy Spirit people became churchless and nowhere to hold worship except in their private houses for the first years of their group. They tended to isolate themselves from social and political activities of majority Christians. Even today they are known as the 'separated people', who don't shake hands with, and don't eat together with other people except their own church people.

4. Social Division

The DYM and the Holy Spirit Church are rare examples of grave conflicts between the independent churches and the mainstream churches in the past Luyialand. At present general relationship between the mainstream churches and the non-mainstream churches in Isukha is not especially bad. People of both spheres in fact mingle each other in everyday social discourses. 'Peace among different churches' is a motto always preached by the government officials from the Kenyan President to local assistant chiefs. The spirit of cooperation among the all Christians becomes a common sense among the Isukha people and there have been no grave crush among them since the independence.

However, one can easily see a certain social gap or tension between the mainstream church members and the non-mainstream church members. Funerals are most important social occasions in Isukha and it is held by the church which the deceased belonged to. When an important man dies his funeral would attract several thousand mourners. Important guests of government officials, chiefs, assistant chiefs, teachers, successful businessmen and the like are present, and sometimes a whole army of children appears from a nearby school. This kind of funerals is always held by the Friend Church or, in a lesser degree, the Catholic Church. The funerals of the non-mainstream churches are rather different in many ways. Above all, the church tends to monopolize the operation of the funeral. Or, like in the case of the Holy Spirit Church, it almost excludes other villagers than their own members. Relatives and neighbours of non-members can attend the funeral but they are simple observers just sitting behind the scene (except the nearest relatives). This is partly because their way of praying (inspired by the Holy Spirit) and singing (with jumping) and so on are peculiar and therefore the non-members can't virtually participate in it.

The more sociological reason for it may be that the minority Church is a tightly organized small community which is more or less separated from the majority villagers. Its members come largely from relatively poor families of Isukha society. It is commonly said that the poor families are likely to join in the minority church because its funeral is less costly for them

(indeed, anyone in Isukha always complains about the expense of funerals these days) . The scene of separateness in funerals is, I think, an indication of a grave social division. This does not simply come from the denominational differences. It is deeply rooted in the inevitable course of differentiation of modernization in Isukha. Some have advanced their family luck by riding the current of the times, while the others have failed to do so. This process of differentiation is, in a certain degree, reflected in the family's church membership. The Friends Church was the farthest in promoting its members' ability to cope with the colonial as well as modern environment in early colonial times and this has resulted in their relatively favorable social position of its present generation.

III. Mainstream Churches

1. Yearly Meeting of Friends

A Friends mission came to evangelize the eastern part of Luyialand from the United States in 1902, making its Headquarters in Kaimosi, Tiriki, and then branch missions in Maragoli and in Isukha. It was at first called the Friends Africa Industrial Mission and missionaries (who were also teachers, medical doctors and engineers) were eager to teach Africans not only Christian messages but also reading and writing, agriculture, hygiene and medicine, houseworks, job training and the like. In order to guard their Christian converts against the rest of villagers the missionaries made them live around the church. This Christian village was called "line" and there were strict "Christian" rules like prohibition of alcohol in the line. Apparently it was very effective for educating a new generation of Christians because they were taught not only intensively but were also made out of touch with their own native clans which were sources of the old and so-called anti-Christian customs.

The first generation of the African Friends realized the importance of education for their children. As a consequence the second generation of Friends families had a good chance for getting new jobs, cultivating cash crops and working in cities. Many of them became administrative officers and chiefs, primary and secondary school teachers and employees of big companies. They have succeeded in organizing themselves into a class of people who have a relatively wealthy family with a new way of life in the present Isukha.

Recently, however, the Friends Church itself has fallen into disarray. After the American mission decided to hand over the leadership of the Church to African Christians, they organized themselves in 1958 into one united body called East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends. Its unity didn't last long when the "Elgon Friends" (meaning Friends in Bukusu or Northern area) expressed a strong desire to make their own Yearly Meeting separated from the others in 1960. This was put down for the moment by the manoeuvre of Southern and Central groups, but their hope never dwindled because they felt they were least served by the

church funds and educational programs. This was a kind of sub-nationalism based upon ethnic culture and regional interests. There was no religious disagreement among any Friends groups. In 1973 the Bukusu members declared a unilateral independence of "Elgon Religious Society of Friends".

This incidence was a forerunner of subdivision of the entire East Africa Yearly Meeting. The two most influential groups, the South (Maragoli) and the Central (Isukha) groups, were separated each other, while the Tiriki group which disliked the leadership of the above two groups became also independent. Those who emigrated to cities (Nairobi, Kitale, Kapsabet, Kakamega) separated their city Yearly Meetings one by one, fearing that different ethnic groups in their community might quarrel in the end unless the influence of their homeland was shut out. Even the Bukusu group and the Maragoli group couldn't hold their own inner unity for long and were further subdivided into two or more Yearly Meetings. There are now 14 Yearly Meetings in Kenya with names of their own liking. For instance, Friends people in Isukha and Idakho has now "The East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Central)".⁽⁴⁾

Is there any logical relation between the social advancement of the Friends and the recent uncontrollable divisions of the Yearly Meetings? Sub-nationalism or so-called tribalism in independent Africa in general is apparently a failure of nationalism and there have been its grave consequences: ethnic conflicts and wars, military coups and disruption of governments and, above all, loss of numerous human lives and total social stagnation. The sub-nationalism of the Friends Church seems insignificant compared with these serious ethnic conflicts elsewhere, but I think it is still worth examining for its peculiar commonplace.

If a healthy nationalism is based not only on the Constitution, the Presidency, the national assembly etc. but also on a common language and culture which enables nationals to share common emotion and perception, then the Kenyan nationalism which is largely a colonial legacy should be in much less desirable condition. There is not virtually a Kenyan national culture distinguished from, say, a Ugandan national culture. English or Kiswahili is good for exchanging messages in a formal meeting, but is not the real common language for villagers to communicate each other in their community and family. Only the Isukha language can be a medium by which the Isukha people express their feeling and discuss problems of everyday life.

It should be noted that the Friends people are among the most educated and the "elites" in the rural area. When the Friends people were taught Western civil culture along with Christianity by the missionaries they must have learned the nationalism backed by a common culture. They grew conscious of the Kenyan nationalism, or more precisely, of the incompleteness of the Kenyan nationalism in the course of the conflicts in the East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends, and then they seemed to be gradually awoken by the sub-nationalism based on more straight similarity of culture and language.

If the ethnicity involves necessarily the real or imagined idea of the nearness of kinship and marriage, and if the sub-nationalism is based more on a common cultural environment, then it can be said that the subdivision of the Friends is a case of the latter rather than the

former. This is perhaps the reason why there are many township (city) yearly meetings, where people of the different ethnic groups are mingled. This is also the reason why the subdivision of the Friends is that of church establishment, where the educated elites are competing the leadership and the resources of the Friends Church.

It is ironic that the most socially advanced church has been seemingly retreated to the so-called "tribalism", but this is where I see a peculiar aspect of the Friends' church-state relation. It seems that the sub-nationalism (like Isukha sub-nationalism) in this case supplements the nationalism (like Kenyan nationalism), and does not claim to replace the latter.

2. Roman Catholic Church

There is a succinct statement of the status of Roman Catholic in Kenya. "The colonial times Kenya appeared as a thoroughly Anglican and Protestant place with the Catholics — all the Catholic missionaries were non-British — more or less reduced to the background. In the period following independence the Roman Catholic Church was the most rapidly growing Church in Kenya".⁽⁵⁾

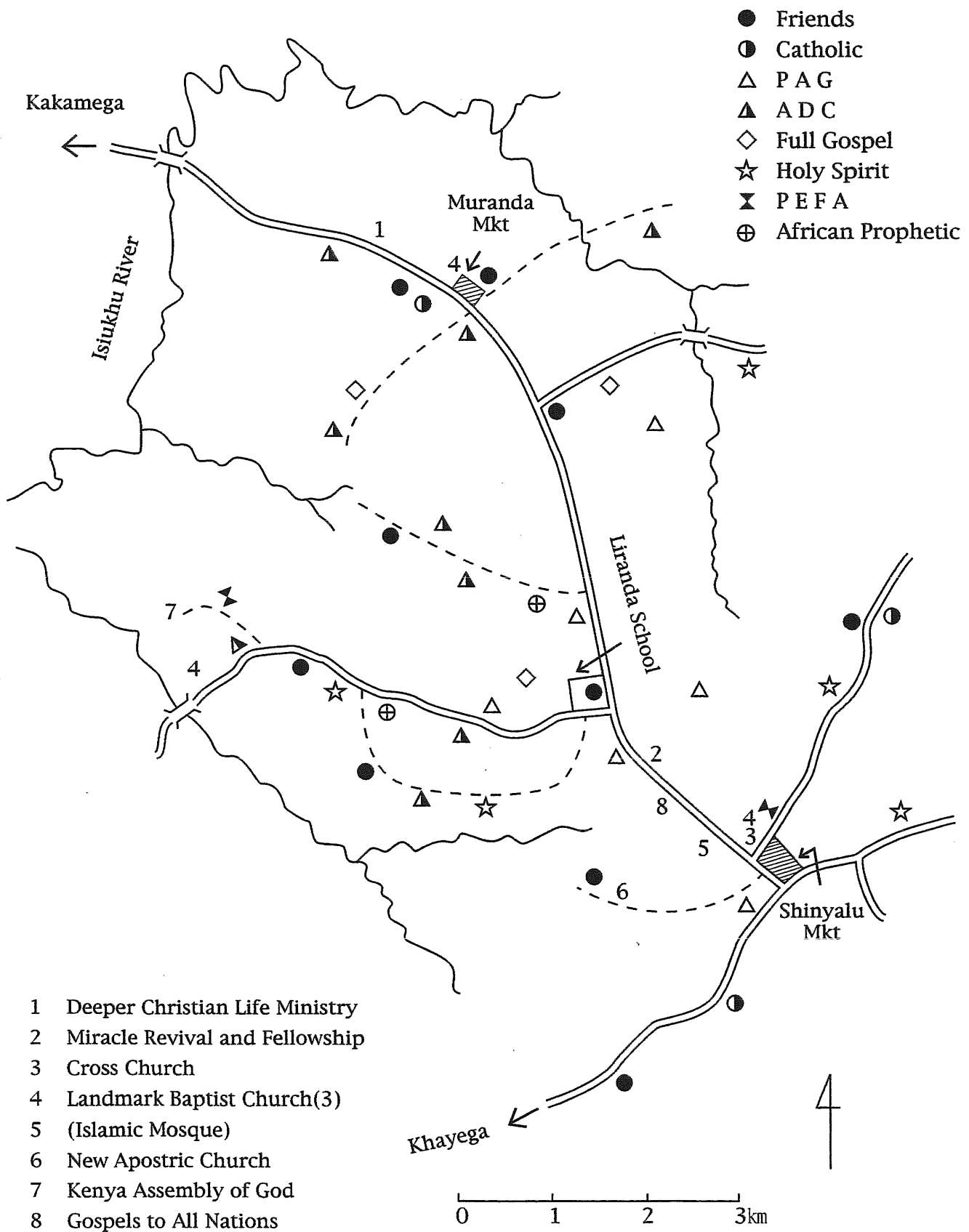
This is actually what happened in Isukha. At first the Friends were in the forefront, but now the growing membership of the Catholic Church is gradually strengthening its over all influences. The Catholic Church in Kakamega (Mukumu) started mission activity almost at the same time (1904?) with the Friends Mission, but its way of approaching villagers was different. Look up the map of "Distribution of the Churches in Central Isukha" (1998) and we can see only two Catholic churches (the third one is still under construction), while there are 10 Friends churches. This means that every Sunday the followers of the Catholic go to distant church centres (something like 4 or 5 km. away) which are big but few in number. Their mass is large and it takes place two or three times on Sundays. This also means the Catholic organization is more loose than the Friends, which has developed tight local congregations with their own small church buildings.

Compared with the Friends mission the Catholic Church was compromising with the common villagers' African way of life. It didn't make a segregated Christian village and was tolerant to its members' drinking. It was not strict to prohibit traditional rituals like those for dead family spirits. It is a well-known fact in Isukha that the Catholic Church was not so eager to build schools for children to give them education as the Friends mission did.

The two mission Churches have recruited their believers in the same place but by different principles. The result is a fairly distinct pattern which marks social inclinations and strata in the present-day Isukha village. The Friends members largely belong to the upper stratum, elite class with good social positions, and educated families, while the Catholic members are commonly belong to the vast numbers of less educated class. There are certainly many exceptions, but this is the image that people usually entertain. The Friends people tend to think the Catholics are somehow diluted Christians and to assume their own superiority.

Distribution of Christian Churches in Central Isukha

(Kakamega District, Kenya, 1998)



However, they say that the Friends Church has been losing membership to the Catholic Church because of their religious rigour, especially of prohibition of drinking alcohol.

3. Christianization and Secularization

If the Christianity in Isukha as a whole is seen as a culture of present-day African rural areas it is interesting to compare it with the Christianity in the old Spanish colonies like the Philippines, which had been colonized since 15th century. In the case of the latter the so-called folk Catholic is a common culture among the rural peasants. It is not only in the worship in the Church but also in many social occasions such as fiestas, baptism ceremonies and funerals that villagers gather together with the same ritual bonds. In Isukha, on the other hand, there is no common festival for all villagers to celebrate. The nearest thing is Christmas, but people celebrate it according to their own churches (denominations). The memorial ceremonies for the dead called "Makumbusho" are also different in their procedures and the ritual meanings among the two churches, especially because the Catholic Church tends to allow an animal sacrifice for the dead spirit if it is not done openly. Unlike the Catholicism in the Philippines, the Christianity in Isukha is not representing the unity of the rural community with a "folk culture" but rather working as an agent of differentiation in customs and values as well as in social strata.

It is commonly held that modernization is accompanied with secularization, but in Isukha the modernization process has also been the process of Christianization. Is this a kind of contradiction, or has this to be understood that the Christianization and the secularization have been somehow two sides of the same process? I think the Christianization in Isukha has also been the secularization in two senses. Firstly, the early work of Christian missionaries clearly shows they suppressed African religious traditions and rituals like funerals and circumcision ceremonies. In other words they "de-sacralized" the society. However, the Christianity as a whole didn't restore the religious order sufficiently, mostly because it failed to give people a harmonious world view which would have unified people as a religious community. Instead the missionaries gave two competing religious views and two sets of ritual practices of the Catholic and the Protestant. There is no "folk religion" at present, which would give the people common religious values in everyday life.

Secondly, as I have just pointed out above, the Christianity in Isukha is working as an agent of social differentiation. The Friends, representing the upper social crust, hold an attitude of progressiveness and enterprise, while the Catholics have a certain regressive attitude which has resulted in a general retard in education and professional career. The Catholics and the Friends, therefore, have promoted a social as well as ideological division peculiar to modernity and secularization.

IV. Further Changes

1. PAG and ADC and Other Pentecostals

There are still many other churches in Isukha which are not yet discussed. They are non-mainstream churches of different origins. Some of them are properly called "independent church" which has historically no connection with Western mission churches or separated from them to have their own church. I have already mentioned the African Prophetic Church (the first type) and the African Church of Holy Spirit (the second type) as this category. Other churches of this category are the African Divine Church (ADC) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG), both of which have numerous branch churches in Isukha (in central Isukha only, ADC has 9, PAG has 6 of them. See the map). They are more active in recruiting their believers from other churches than the now stabilizing Holy Spirit Church is.

The PAG and the ADC had a connection of the same mission called the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, which came from Canada in 1919 at Nyang'ori near Kaimosi.⁽⁶⁾ Still there are certain interesting differences between them. The PAG is the African inheritor of the mission and is still supported by it. The ADC became independent from the mission in 1949 with a leader called Saulo Chabuga, and it is a typical independent church.⁽⁷⁾

Naturally these two churches resemble each other as African heirs of the Western Pentecostalism. Their worship in the church is very noisy, confessing loudly, possessing the Holy Spirit, singing and jumping while clapping hands and beating drums. Their churchmen are not only clergymen administering their church management but also more or less charismatic leaders in their worship as healers or prophets. They baptize their converts by really dipping them into nearby rivers. They seriously fight against witches and evil spirits because they believe in the existence of these evil agents, unlike the Catholics and the Friends who don't admit their existence at least officially.

Though these two churches practice an almost identical religion, their appearances are somewhat different. The pastors of the PAG wear jackets and ties while those of the ADC wear African white robes. The former use Swahili and Isukha language and mostly understand English, while the latter use Isukha language only. Preaching style of pastors is also different. The PAG pastors' preach is long and in a professional style compared with the ADC pastors' more home-grown way. These differences all come from the fact that the PAG pastors are educated in a Christian College supported by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and the ADC has not such foreign aid.

There are more Pentecostal churches in Isukha just like the PAG. These are "the Full Gospel Church in Kenya" supported by a Finnish Pentecostal mission (3 branches in the map), and "the Pentecostal Evangelical Fellowship of Africa" (PEFA) which is a merger (in 1962) of two Pentecostal mission churches⁽⁸⁾, which had gained ground in Kenya by then (2 branches in the map). These churches seem to attract increasingly more people from other mainstream

churches.

These Pentecostal churches and the independent churches (ADC, the Holy Spirit Church, African Prophetic Church), that is, the non-mainline churches in Isukha are, as I already pointed out, the most growing type of churches. Especially for ambitious young men who want to have more religious education or to have their own branch church, it is from the foreign missionaries of the Pentecostals or the evangelicals that they can expect material as well as spiritual support.

2. New Churches

The orthodox Pentecostal churches (plus the Holy Spirit Church) have been the principal forces of the non-mainstream churches so far, but recently the other evangelical or charismatic types of new churches have come to stay in Isukha. A church called "Miracle Revival and Fellowship Pentecostal Church" ("the Miracle Church" for short) is among them. A new branch church of it was built in Isukha several years ago by Serina Imili, a woman in her mid 50s. She had been a Friend and her father is a wealthy Friends member. In 1993 she was very ill around her throat and ears, and was not cured despite all treatments in big hospitals in Nairobi and other towns. It was around those days when two evangelists / pastors of the Miracle Church visited her in her bed at home and prayed for her. In three days her pains had gone and she has been in good health since then. She was convinced that this was God's work and asked the Church people what she could do for them. They told her to build a church (a kind of a meeting house) at her place if possible. This she did, and the church is the first branch of the Miracle Church in Isukha (mark 2 in the map).

The Miracle Church was founded by an Idakho man called Elisha Chitai. Its big religious center (Safina) is in Mombasa and has developed its influence from the coast to the upcountry, especially after starting the mass evangelicalism called "Revival Crusade". It claims to have 120 churches in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda with 160 pastors. These pastors don't stay long in one church but go around their churches one by one in every three weeks. The Revival Crusades are very big events which take place in major towns in East Africa in every two months. A crusade conference lasts several days and attracts a large number of people, something like 40 thousand. Many sick persons have been cured at these occasions just like Serina has cured at home by prayers.

This type of Christian churches is very new in Isukha. It may be characterized in the following traits: mass evangelicalism, charismatic leaders, highly mobile evangelists as well as their followers (who attend the Crusades far from their home places), and individual interests in healing and success in business and the like. Obviously this kind of evangelicalism is influenced by American and European revivalist missionary like Reinhard Bonnke who recently came to Africa for the crusades. It can also be said that this kind of evangelical Christianity is in general neocolonial rather than postcolonial.

3. Church Affiliation and Modernity

It is the new church's urban traits that sharply contrast with the rural traits of most churches in Isukha, which are sedentary with tight communities, concerns mostly family problems, and are culturally tied to the local tradition (especially, language). The intrusion of the urban type churches into this rural area is of no wonder because the villagers, especially male adults, are constantly out for jobs or job seeking in major towns in Kenya. There they become acquainted with "Christian Crusades" or "Revival Meetings" which were advanced by these urban churches.

Moreover, it seems that the densely populated rural area like Isukha is now involved in a certain urban situation. The once tightly knitted rural community (by ties of clans and lineages) is gradually loosened as the land for cultivation and pasture becomes scarce because of constant division for inheritance among family members. A family can barely persist unless its breadwinner has an employment or a part-time job somewhere else. This is a very dividing social situation, where villagers' concerns are directed to some other places other than to their own village, and the individualistic money economy partly takes over the communal tradition. This fragmenting process has been closely associated with the diversifying church affiliation of villagers.

The clan affiliation and the church affiliation are the two most important personal ties of the Isukha people, and these two ties have very different social meaning. The clan affiliation represents traditional morality which fundamentally assumes homogeneity and equality among its members except the differentiation by age and sex. The most striking thing about the distribution of Christian denominations in Isukha, on the other hand, is that it represents the process of the social differentiation which is completely different from, and actually opposite to, the clan morality. The church affiliation cuts across the clan affiliation from the time of the early Friends evangelism, which forcefully brought a totally new Christian village into existence in the middle of clan villages. This was the first break of the traditional clan affiliation by the church affiliation.

The consequent development of the personal affiliation to various churches as against the communal clan ties is, thus, closely related to the complex patterns of national economy and national politics of modern Kenya.

Notes

- (1) Bishop Rafael Ndingi 'Church and State in Kenya' in *Kenya Churches Handbook* 1973:44
- (2) G.S.Were, *Essays on African Religion in Western Kenya*, 1977 / A. Wipper, *Rural Rebels*, 1977 / A. Wipper, 1971, "Elija Masinde, a folk hero" in *Hadith* 3:157-91 / J.B.Shimanyula,

Elija Masinde and the Dini ya Musambwa, 1978.

- (3) Other spirit churches whose origin was the 1927 Revival are "The Lyahuka Church of East Africa", "The Gospel Holy Spirit Church of East Africa" and "The Holy Spirit Church of East Africa". Their splitting history is fully documented in Ane Marie Bak Rasmussen's *Modern African Spirituality: the Independent Holy Spirit Churches in East Africa, 1902-1976* (British Academic Press, 1996), especially pp.49-63.
- (4) The course of falling apart of the East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends up to 1987 is thoroughly studied by Ane Marie Bak Rasmussen in her *A History of the Quaker Movement in Africa* (British Academic Press, 1995). At that moment splinter groups were only two, that is, "Elgon Religious Society of Friends" and the "Nairobi Yearly Meeting".
- (5) B.Sundkler et al., *A History of the Church in Africa*, 2000, p.1001.
- (6) F.B. Welbourn, *East African Christian*, Oxford, 1965, p.147-.
- (7) F.B. Welbourn, *A Place to Feel at home*, Oxford, 1966, p.80.
- (8) These two Pentecostals are the International Pentecostal Assemblies (since 1938), and The Elim Missionary Assemblies (since 1942) cf. *Kenya Church Handbook*, p.248